

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /066 W
-----151055Z 075324 /15

R 150931Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5298
INFO AMCONSUL MILAN
AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL GENOA
AMCONSUL NAPLES
AMCONSUL PALERMO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 9827

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, IT
SUBJECT: PCI ATTITUDE TOWARD THE US AND NATO

REF: A) ROME 9581; B) ROME 8958; C) ROME 5656; D) ROME 9385

SUMMARY: IN RECENT MONTHS THE PCI HAS EMITTED CONFLICTING SIGNALS ON ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE US AND NATO. THOUGH THE PARTY'S INTERNATIONAL SPOKESMEN HAVE CONTINUED EFFORTS TO PROJECT THE IMAGE OF A RESPONSIBLE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WILLING TO MAINTAIN ITALY'S TRADITIONAL TIES WITH THE WEST, THE MESSAGE BEING RELAYED TO THE BASE THROUGH PARTY DAILY L'UNITA AND BY SOME PARTY LEADERS REFLECTS A SKEPTICAL AND OFTEN HOSTILE ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICAN AND THE ALLIANCE. THIS DUAL LINE HAS RESULTED FROM THE LEADERSHIP'S EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN THE PCI'S INDEPENDENT AND DEMOCRATIC IMAGE IN THE WEST
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WHILE REASSURING THE RANK AND FILE (AND PERHAPS THE SOVIET UNION) OF THE PCI'S FUNDAMENTAL COMMITMENT TO TRADITIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST INTERNATIONALISM. END SUMMARY.

1. IN RECENT MONTHS THE PCI'S FOREIGN POLICY LINE REGARDING THE UNITED STATES AND THE NATO ALLIANCE

HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY LESS CLEAR. ON ONE HAND THE PCI'S MAJOR INTERNATIONAL SPOKESMEN HAVE CONTINUED TO EMPHASIZE THE PARTY'S DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND ITS COMMITMENT TO WORK WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ITALY'S TRADITIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH THE WEST. ON THE OTHER HAND, HOWEVER, IN STATEMENTS DESTINED PRIMARILY FOR INTERNAL CONSUMPTION THE PCI LINE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES AND NATO HAS, IF ANYTHING, HARDENED.

2. INDICATIVE OF THE PCI'S ATTITUDE IS THE REPORTING AND COMMENTARY FEATURED IN PCI DAILY L'UNITA ON THE LONDON SUMMIT, THE NATO COUNCIL MEETING, AND THE NORTH-SOUTH TALKS. IN COMMENTING ON THE LONDON SUMMIT L'UNITA CORRESPONDENT ALBERTO JACOVIELLO GAVE PRESIDENT CARTER CREDIT FOR A FINE PERFORMANCE, BUT EMPHASIZED THE FACT THAT "NONE OF THE LEADERS PRESENT AT THE SUMMIT WAS IN A POSITION TO PROVIDE A VALID SOLUTION" TO THE WEST'S PRESSING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. HE NOTED, FOR INSTANCE, THAT THOUGH UNEMPLOYMENT WAS RECOGNIZED BY ALL OF THE LEADERS AS AN ISSUE REQUIRING URGENT ATTENTION, IT BECOMES "MORE DRAMATIC IN THAT NO PROPOSAL, EITHER IN THE FINAL DECLARATION OR IN THE COURSE OF THE TALKS, WAS CONCRETELY ADVANCED TO RESOLVE IT". JACOVIELLO CONDEMNED IN PARTICULARLY STRONG TERMS THE FAILURE OF THE STRONG NATIONS (US, GERMANY, JAPAN) TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WEAK ONES (GREAT BRITAIN, ITALY, FRANCE), AND CONCLUDED THAT THE INDUSTRIALIZED, CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ARE INCAPABLE OF PROVIDING SOLUTIONS FOR THE WORLD'S MOST URGENT PROBLEMS AND THAT THIS "ILLUSTRATES CLEARLY THE LIMITATIONS ON ANY OPTIMISTIC HYPOTHESIS FOR THE FUTURE."

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3. JACOVIELLO'S COMMENT ON THE NATO COUNCIL MEETING TOOK A DECIDEDLY POLEMICAL TURN AS HE ATTACKED THE CARTER FOREIGN POLICY AS "AN OBVIOUS CONTINUATION OF AMERICAN OBJECTIVES OF THE PAST THIRTY YEARS." HE SUGGESTED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE MERELY COSMETIC CHANGES, SUCH AS HIS CALL FOR MORE MEANINGFUL INTER-ALLIED CONSULTATIONS, BASED ON AN "AWARENESS THAT UNILATERAL US GESTURES HAD A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON AMERICAN HEGEMONY". (IT WAS JACOVIELLO, WRITING ON L'UNITA IN MARCH 1976, WHO SAID THAT THE PCI FAVORS

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ITALIAN PARTICIPATION IN NATO, ALTHOUGH NATO WOULD
HAVE TO CHANGE TO END AMERICAN HEGEMONY.)

4. A SIMILAR LINE IS FOLLOWED IN REPORTING ON THE
NORTH-SOUTH TALKS WHERE AMERICAN EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE
AN AGREEMENT ARE PORTRAYED AS "SUBSTANTIALLY TIED TO THE US
ROLE AS THE HEGEMONIC POWER IN THE WORLD
ECONOMY". IN EACH CASE THIS CRITICISM WAS
SUPPLEMENTED AND ALMOST EXACTLY PARALLELED
BY MORE STRONGLY WORDED POLEMICS IN THE PCI-CONTROLLED
ROME DAILY PAESE SERA. IN ADDITION, PAESE SERA TOOK
THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE NATO COUNCIL MEETING TO WARN
ITALIANS THAT ITALY COULD NOT AFFORD THE INCREASES
IN DEFENSE SPENDING WHICH PRESIDENT CARTER'S POLICY
TOWARD THE USSR IMPLIED.

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5. INDIVIDUAL PCI LEADERS HAVE ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO
PERPETUATING THE HARD LINE INTERNALLY. THERE HAS BEEN
SOME STRONG CRITICISM OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S HUMAN
RIGHTS POLICY (SEE, FOR EXAMPLE, REF. C) AND PARTY

DIRECTORATE MEMBER UGO PECCHIOI PUBLICLY SUGGESTED THAT WEST GERMAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES AND ELEMENTS OF THE PENTAGON ARE BACKING THE CURRENT WAVE OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN ITALY (SEE REF. B). ON A RECENT TELEVISION PROGRAM COMMEMORATING THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARSHALL PLAN (SEE REF. D) PCI CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER GIAN CARLO PAJETTA BELITTLED THE EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAM AS A MEANS OF SECURING MARKETS FOR AMERICAN CAPITALISM, THEREBY PROVIDING THE ECONOMIC BASIS FOR THE COLD WAR. A GENERAL EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE TO PRESENT AN UNBALANCED AND NEGATIVE VIEW OF AMERICAN SOCIETY AND HISTORY. (L'UNITA HAS, FOR INSTANCE, GIVEN FEATURED COVERAGE TO THE VISIT TO ITALY OF SPENCER SACCO, GRAND NEPHEW OF THE ITALIAN ANARCHIST EXECUTED IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1927.)

6. COMMENT: THERE IS, IN SHORT, A PERCEPTIBLE DUALITY EVIDENT IN THE PCI'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES AND NATO WHICH STEMS FROM THE PARTY'S ATTEMPTS TO BE ALL THINGS TO ALL PEOPLE. INTERNATIONALLY KNOWN PCI SPOKESMEN SUCH AS SERGIO SEGRE AND GIORGIO NAPOLITANO STILL STRESS THE PCI'S READINESS TO ACCEPT CONTINUED TIES TO THE WEST BASED ON GEOPOLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS, BUT AT THE SAME TIME THE LEADERSHIP FEELS CONSTRAINED TO REAFFIRM ITS COMMITMENT TO TRADITIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST IDEALS SUCH AS PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND HOSTILITY TO CAPITALISM FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SUBSTANTIAL CONSERVATIVE, PRO-SOVIET ELEMENT IN THE RANK AND FILE. THE PARTY IS FAR FROM ACHIEVING THE GOAL SET AT THE 1975 PARTY CONGRESS OF BEING NEITHER ANTI-SOVIET NOR ANTI-AMERICAN AND IN

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FACT, ON VIRTUALLY EVERY CONTENTIOUS INTERNATIONAL ISSUE TROUBLING THE WORLD, MAINTAINS ITS TRADITIONAL IDENTITY WITH THE VIEWS OF THE USSR. GARDNER

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Message Attributes

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